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ROUND TABLE

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A RADIO DISCUSSION OF

THE TROJAN HORSE

NICHOLAS DOMAN · LOUIS GOTTSCHALK · IRVING PFLAUM

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ROUND TABLE

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NOTE

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THE TROJAN HORSE*

A UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE BROADCAST

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IRVING PFLAUM, Foreign Editor, *Chicago Times*

* A radio discussion broadcast from the University of Chicago over the Red Network of the National Broadcasting Company, Sunday, May 5, 1940, at 1:30 P.M., Central Daylight Saving Time.

The ROUND TABLE, oldest educational program continuously on the air, is broadcast entirely without a script. Subjects are chosen because of their social, political, or economic significance. The program has no "ax to grind." In the selection of speakers, the effort is to provide a balanced discussion by participants who have special competence and knowledge. The opinion of each speaker is his own and in no way involves the responsibility of either the University of Chicago or the National Broadcasting Company.

THE TROJAN HORSE

Techniques of Alien Penetration

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It is told in a legend how the Greeks, having failed to conquer the city of Troy, built a huge horse of wood; and into its belly they ordered brave soldiers—men with spears, stout shields, and arrows. And it is said that the Greeks made as if to depart, and the horse was left on the plains. The Trojans took the horse into the city, and hailed it as a trophy of war. And in the night the Greeks came out of the horse, by stealth and silence, and they sacked the city and conquered it.[1]

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MR. GOTTSCHALK: Well, gentlemen, the twentieth century Trojan Horse is a slightly different kind of an animal. They don't pack soldiers into the belly of a wooden image, but they do introduce subversive elements in a different fashion. I have just read that the English are planning to create units of minute men to be ready to withstand the Germans as soon as they land upon the British coast.

You're a newspaper man, Pflaum; you know about these things. Have you anything to add to that?

MR. PFLAUM: Only that Chamberlain in a speech on May 2 mentioned the possibility of a German invasion of England, and since that time various fishermen and farmers along the coast of England have organized, or are said to have organized, as minute men to meet the first Germans when they land. I've been wondering, since that report, whether the English would find that they, too, had taken a Trojan Horse into the gates of their city.

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[1] *From an early Greek myth.*

MR. GOTTSCHALK: That seems to imply that the Trojan Horse is a preliminary to invasion. Doman, how does this Trojan Horse work? You have lived in Central Europe and been a lecturer at the University of Budapest. You have some idea, by direct contact, of Trojan Horse activities.

MR. DOMAN: Trojan Horse activities work through different channels. I may classify the channels as political, economic, diplomatic, cultural, and military, and the Nazis were able to build a special technique which is more minute, more exact, than any technique which we have known before.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: There are political parties, for example, that support the Nazis. You know something about that from your observations, Pflaum.

MR. PFLAUM: You have heard of Sir Oswald Mosley in London and his British Union of Fascists—a pretty ridiculous organization. I met Mr. Mosley in Rome when he was wearing a black shirt many years ago. Ridiculous as it may seem, it could act as a nucleus.[2] Then you have the Communists who seem to be working for the Germans now, the people who call this an "imperialist "war; and then you have the peace movement, the pacifists, sincere or otherwise, all of whom could form part of a Trojan Horse.

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[2] *The British Union of Fascists (now simply the British Union) onducts its propaganda in England on strictly orthodox lines, being sentially authoritarian, anti-Semitic, and anti-democratic. Some ars ago the movement appeared to be gaining in popularity and had ome press support, but after Hitler's "blood purge" in 1934 sentiment turned against the Mosley group. This revulsion was heightened in 1935 and 1936 when the Fascists employed particularly brutal tactics against their political opponents. Today the British Union continues to carry on most of their anti-war propaganda. There are, beside the British Union, cells and units of the Nazi party and of the German Labor Front in England.*

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MR. GOTTSCHALK: That indicates, then, that there is a fairly large number of political parties that may be used for Trojan Horse activities. Would that hold true of journalistic activities?

MR. DOMAN: In practically every country there are pro-Nazi newspapers, and usually the pro-Nazi newspapers have been started or are financed by Germany. There are also many native papers that have German connections and usually these papers are agents for foreign propaganda, and that is the case in practically every European neutral country.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: Newspaper correspondents come into this, don't they, Pflaum?

MR. PFLAUM: Yes, the Germans send out a large number of correspondents to cover minor stories and they stay around a long while, though, of course, there would be none in England.[3] Then there are the tourists and teachers and businessmen and settlers and exporters, all of whom may be legitimate. You can include some refugees in that group, but some among them, I suppose, are paid agents of the government. The purpose they have in mind, of course, is to unify organizations already existing in the country.

MR. DOMAN: I may remind you, Pflaum, of the League of Germans Living Abroad, an organization the headquarters of which are to be found in Stuttgart, Germany.

MR. PFLAUM: That's the *Auslandsbureau.*

MR. DOMAN: The *Auslandsbureau,* which has files for every German living abroad.

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[3] *The well-known Scandinavian journalist, Joachim Joesten, pointed out in 1937 that while two or three French and British correspondents were stationed at Copenhagen there were perhaps a dozen German newspaper men, and this despite the fact that the German press, being "coordinated," would allow much less originality in reporting than the French or British.*

GERMANS LIVING ABROAD

MR. GOTTSCHALK: You don't want to give the impression that every German refugee is a Nazi, do you?

MR. DOMAN: Definitely no, but there are some refugees who are just fake refugees. I don't question the sincerity of the great part of refugees.

MR. PFLAUM: You know, in Norway, when the German troops reached Trondheim and Oslo, the story goes—as told by correspondents who were there—they had an exact list of all the German residents in both cities. They knew exactly who was favorable to Hitler and who was against him. Those who were against him they arrested; those who were favorable received arms and were asked to help them take the city. That list was furnished them by this *Auslandsbureau* in Stuttgart.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: What kind of activity do the Germans abroad engage in? I have learned a great deal about sports activity and cultural activity from reading newspapers and German propaganda reports.

MR. PFLAUM: I would like to say that they go into a few activities but they are forced into many more because, during the last three or four years, the German living abroad who was acceptable to the Nazis has not been completely a free man even though he may be living in a free country.

MR. DOMAN: I cannot emphasize enough the importance of these cultural activities. The cultural activities on the part of the German minorities are extremely important for the German government. The German government gets very definite information from the German minorities on the policies of their native local governments.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: I can understand how some Germans in this country—who are not naturalized or who have been recently naturalized—might be loyal to the government at home. But how about the people who come over here for scholarships, or plain, ordinary tourists? Do you think they can be very active in supporting Trojan Horse activities?

MR. DOMAN: I have seen many philosophy students from Germany in Central Europe, and these students have been found to have military maps with them.

MR. PFLAUM: They know more about geography than philosophy.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: I understand that Von Blomberg[4] was a tourist in Narvik, and some people believe that his tourism in Narvik was for the benefit of mapping the harbor. That may be an example of tourism. That brings up the question of whether consular agents and diplomatic agents are used for Trojan Horse purposes.

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[4] *Werner von Blomberg, former German War Minister, lately in disgrace because of supposed anti-Hitler leanings, was killed at the Polish front last fall under circumstances described by opponents of the Hitler regime as "unusual."*

MR. PFLAUM: If they are, I suppose you could say that they always have been. They are sources of information of all kinds to the governments that sent them out, except perhaps an intensification of specialization of the work. There would be nothing new there.

MR. DOMAN: But diplomatic pressure is used extensively by the German government. Just for example, Sandler, the Foreign Minister of Sweden, has been dismissed upon request of the German government and a more pro-Nazi Foreign Minister substituted.[5]

MR. GOTTSCHALK: You remember that Quisling—who was the officer in Norway who was largely responsible for the Norwegian Trojan Horse activities—was largely influenced in his activity by diplomatic pressure, too. And you remember that the Nazi counsel in Oslo was recently attacked by two Norwegian patriots for his activities.[6]

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[5] *Rikard Sandler, Swedish Foreign Minister and former Swedish Premier, resigned his post last December. He was replaced by Christian Günther.*

[6] *Major Vidkum Quisling, leader of the Norwegian Nazi group, the Nasjonal Samling, proclaimed himself head of the Norwegian state shortly after German troops entered Oslo. He resigned a few days later and the German occupation is now carried on through a specially designated German official. Major Quisling was Norwegian Defense Minister in 1932–1933 and it was at that time that he promoted friends and political associates to positions where they could assist in the turning over of Norwegian defenses to the Germans. A similar condition existed in Spain. General Franco had been War Minister before the war and therefore was in a position to promote many of his colleagues to higher posts in the army. Like the Norwegian Labor government, the Spanish Republicans were either unwilling or unable to demote these persons or render them ineffective. When the revolution occurred, these officers formed a nucleus for organization of the rebel forces.*

PRINCIPAL GERMAN MINORITIES IN EUROPE

MR. PFLAUM: That was the same counsel that was down in Marseilles when the liner *Paris* was burned, I think. He was accused —or the French at least suspected him—of having something to do with the burning of the *Paris*.

MR. DOMAN: The case of Quisling is a special case although a typical example of a political desperado who was seeking adventure. As we know, he was a member of the Norwegian cabinet in 1932 and was slapped in the face that year by a Laborite member of the Norwegian Parliament. From that time on he was seeking revenge.

MR. PFLAUM: I would say that not only Quisling was a special case—and the word "quisling" that comes from his name is now being used as a verb—but the cases of Denmark and Norway were special in themselves because Germany had planned an invasion of those countries. She knew she was going to need them at some time or other, and this Trojan Horse was built for only that purpose and for no other.

MR. DOMAN: I can't agree with you. The case of Norway and Denmark is not special. The Norwegian and Danish case is a typical case and if the Trojan Horse has succeeded in Norway I don't see why it should not succeed in other countries. In Norway the percentage of Nazis was less than one per cent of the total population.[7]

MR. GOTTSCHALK: In Norway the striking thing to me was the activity of army officers who were responsible for the defense of

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[7] *In Denmark the Nationalsocialistisk Arbejderparti polled 16,257 votes in the October 22, 1935, parliamentary elections (the last ones for which full figures are available). These were polled in a total vote of 1,653,000, and represented about one per cent of the total. No Nazis were elected to Parliament but in the 1939 elections three were successful.*

In Norway the Nasjonal Samling of Major Quisling polled 26,577 votes in the 1936 parliamentary elections (out of a total of 1,455,238 —under two per cent) and won no seats. In Sweden the Svensk Socialistik Samling obtained 16,617 votes in the 1938 municipal elections, just under one per cent of the total; in the 1936 parliamentary elections the combined vote of two Nazi groups was 26,750, about one and one-half per cent of the total.

that nation, but were actually bought out or persuaded to be of the mind of the enemy country. Is that typical of Trojan Horse activity in other countries? Are the army and navy always involved?[8]

MR. PFLAUM: As a general rule I suppose you could say that there are a number of officers in the navy and army in every country in the world who are subject to Trojan Horse influence. Certainly that is true in France. Perhaps you have heard of the *Cagoulards*. That is a Fascist reactionary organization in France that has military supporters and obtains arms from Italy, and perhaps from Germany.[9]

There was a case of Laetitia Touraux, a young woman who was stabbed to death in a Paris subway train in 1937. Later it developed that she was a French agent, watching the shipment of Italian arms to French troops—to the *Cagoulards* in particular. They did not like it, of course, and eliminated her. That kind of activity is going on, I think, in every country where the Fascist powers believe they have a chance of forming and cementing that kind of group.

MR. DOMAN: How does that work?

MR. PFLAUM: It works, as you said, through cultural activity in the first place, through paid agents in the second place, and then through the shipments of arms and supplies, propaganda, and literature.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: Of course, the case of Norway seems to me to be very different from the case of almost any other country. I insist upon the part of Quisling. Quisling, you must remember,

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[8] *The Swedish newspaper "Trots Allt" last month claimed the Swedish navy was honeycombed with Nazi sympathizers, and pointed out that many Swedish military leaders have German wives, including Rear Admiral Claes Lindsstrom.*

[9] *The Cagoulards (or "Hooded Ones") were a French revolutionary Fascist group discovered by police in the fall of 1937.*

was Minister of Defense from 1932 to 1933, and as Minister of Defense he seems to have alienated a large part of the labor government which is so strong in Norway. We have noted that at one time he was beaten by a member of the Labor Party in Parliament. That possibly introduces a personal element which counts in large part for his activity.

MR. PFLAUM: They always use personal elements, and take advantage of bad feelings between statesmen and capitalize on a reactionary statesman's bad feelings toward the government in power. But I insist that in Norway and Denmark the Germans were not particularly interested at any time in overthrowing the government. They merely wanted to have a system fixed so that when the time came to take those countries—as it came on the fatal night of April 9—their men were in the key spots.[10]

MR. DOMAN: In Norway, and Denmark too—just like in every small European country—the myth of the invincibility of the German army was spread and the native population was forced to believe that the Germany army could not be resisted. That is the reason the major part of the population did not resist.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: Gentlemen, I see we won't agree very thoroughly on this Norwegian situation. I should like to consider the question of labor organizations in connection with Trojan Horse movements in Central Europe.

MR. DOMAN: I should say the labor organizations are not the most dangerous element in the Central European countries. The lower classes—which are the most reasonable element in Central European countries—are more or less reliable. It is only the reliability of the landless peasants which may be doubted.

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[10] *For a discussion of the invasion of Norway and Denmark, see "Scandinavia on the Spot," the University of Chicago* ROUND TABLE *broadcast April 14, 1940.*

MR. PFLAUM: Of course, when you say the landless peasant in Southeastern Europe, you are including a great majority of all the peasants in Southeastern Europe, aren't you?

MR. DOMAN: No. There are many peasants today who have considerable land, and land reforms have been enacted in the last twenty years.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: You do not mean to imply that lower classes are necessarily less patriotic than upper classes?

MR. DOMAN: I do not mean that. Upper classes have more ambition, and you find men in every country from the upper classes who want to achieve some political purpose.

MR. PFLAUM: I think, gentlemen, we have to draw a line between a Trojan Horse movement—such as the Fascist movement in Hungary and the Iron Guards in Rumania—and that in the western countries.[11] In Western Europe they do seem to attract what we have been calling upper class men. In Eastern Europe they base themselves on discontented poor men—on peasants.

MR. DOMAN: I would not agree with you, Pflaum. Of course, the discontented elements play an important part, but the leaders are upper class men, and upper class men want to realize political ambitions. They have the ambition to become Quislings and have used the minorities as tools.

MR. PFLAUM: That is very true, but the strength, the force, of the Trojan Horse in Eastern Europe has been fed, you might say, on the oats of poverty.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: I think we could agree that there prob-

[11] *The "Iron Guard" is a Rumanian anti-Semitic, anti-democratic terrorist organization formerly led by Zelea Codreanu (shot by prison guards "while trying to escape" in November, 1938). A number of its leaders were "executed" in September and October, 1939, after the assassination of Premier Calinescu in Bucharest, September 22, 1939.*

ably is some class consideration in the problem of the Trojan Horse. It seems to me also there is the problem of national minorities. There again I should say that your experience in the Central European countries, Doman, would be able to shed some light on this problem.

MR. DOMAN: The German government was able to emphasize the differences between racial minorities and they have stirred up these minorities.[12]

MR. PFLAUM: Which wasn't very hard to do!

MR. DOMAN: It was very easy to do because the peace treaties aggravated the situation. Another thing which I would like to bring out is the economic relation between the small neutral countries and Germany. Today practically every Central European country is under German domination.

MR. PFLAUM: I think what you are saying is that it is hopeless to expect these countries to kill their Trojan Horse before it starts running away with the country—or opening the gates, as we said. You have said they have the upper class in their favor, and I have added that they have a lot of discontented peasants behind them. Then you have added that they are economically pawns of Germany. The Allies have tried to overcome this but haven't succeeded.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: Of course, it seems to me that you take rather too gallant an attitude toward these economic considerations. Without believing in economic determinism I nevertheless do think that economic factors play an important part in determining history. Won't the German orders and German ads in newspapers and

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[12] *This is a standard technique. In the Near East German and Italian agents have encouraged Arab revolts aimed at the creation of an "independent, autonomous Islamic Empire" to replace "decadent Western imperialism."*

the desire to control non-Aryan firms play an important part in persuading people to become more loyal to the German movement than to their own government?[13]

MR. PFLAUM: Yes, I would agree with that. The economic pressure is extremely important but it is not the moving force that adds to it. The moving force is something else again.

MR. DOMAN: In Central Europe the trade relations between the Central European countries and Germany are called "*couche* and carry." *Couche* is a slang word in many Central European languages which is equivalent to the English term "shut up." And that means that the Central European countries have to carry to Germany.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: Shut up and carry! That's very pointed.

What we have been saying so far, it seems to me, is that the Germans have been using every instrument at their disposal to propagandize and to convert. Is that any different from time-honored methods of winning support in a country that is an even more likely enemy. What is the difference between this and the old methods of winning support?

MR. DOMAN: I see a great difference. In my eyes, the German Trojan Horse is the most effective Trojan Horse we have ever known. Most of us are likely to underestimate the capacity of the German organization.

MR. PFLAUM: But is there a basic difference in their ideology? Are they working in an entirely different manner, or just better than others?

MR. DOMAN: The German Nazi philosophy is a religion and, just as every religion has missionaries, the Nazi religion has missionaries, too. In that case we call them propaganda agents and we find these missionaries in practically every country of the world.

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[13] *Many writers have pointed out that anti-Nazi newspapers do not receive any advertising from German shipping lines and other firms.*

FOREIGN ACTIVITY IN MEXICO AND CENTRAL AMERICA

MR. GOTTSCHALK: Practically every revolution has tried to proselytize outside its boundary and has used proselytes, when earned, to further its own end. By "proselytize" I mean to win advocates, to win supporters, in another country. It seems to me that has been the usual way to proceed in regard to spreading revolutionary propaganda.

MR. PFLAUM: Just as an aside, we must remember that during the last twenty years the Fascist revolutionaries have succeeded in making and winning revolutions; the Communists have not. The emphasis is entirely on the reactionary side.

MR. DOMAN: Those to whom the Nazi philosophy appeals are in power. Those to whom the Communist philosophy appeals are not in power. They are usually in the lower classes.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: I think we agree that this activity is old, but that the Germans have done it very much better with regard to succeeding and winning greater numbers and having a very much more centralized administration of their spy and propaganda activities. I should like to ask, while that is the general picture, in what ways it differs in other countries. I understand that your experience in Spain, Pflaum, as representative of the United Press, would enable you to give us a picture of the differences between the way in which the Italians proceed in Spain, let's say, or in France, and the way the Nazis proceed elsewhere.

MR. PFLAUM: The Italians have perhaps the third best secret service in Europe. The first would be the German *Gestapo*, the second would be the Russian *Cheka*, and the third would be the Italian *Ovra*. The story is told that when Mussolini went to Germany last year five thousand Fascist spies preceded him into Germany. When they arrived there, two Nazi spies were assigned to each Fascist spy, which leads one to the conclusion that traveling, next to war, is the dictator's most expensive occupation.

In Spain we saw plenty of evidence of Italian spies at work. There was the case of the dud bomb in the railway tunnel at Cerbere near the French frontier, that the French found before it exploded and discovered it was made in Italy. Then they helped the Fifth Column—which is another word for the Trojan Horse—to get radios, arms, and prepare to help Franco at the right moment.[14]

[14] *The name "Fifth Column" comes from the boast of the Spanish*

MR. DOMAN: So far as the small countries in Central Europe nd Scandinavia are concerned, the Germans have resorted to un-ermining the national spirit of resistance. The governments in the -al neutral countries were forced to publish statements which owed that the German government does not have the slightest mbition to attack them.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: Isn't it true, too, that at one time in rance some of the activity that might be regarded as Trojan Horse properly described as "popular front"? That is to say, isn't there Communist Trojan Horse operative in France?

MR. PFLAUM: Apparently the French government thinks so the moment. They are arresting and imprisoning, and in some ases threatening with the death sentence, Communists who follow he line handed down from Moscow, which is, namely, to make eace.

MR. DOMAN: To my mind, the Trojan Horse may be divided nto three sections. I would call the first section Nazi; the second, Communist; and the third section, pacifists. They cooperate very ffectively. . . . .

MR. PFLAUM: I think that is true. They cooperate very effec-ively where their interests are the same.

MR. DOMAN: . . . . and all three of them are today for rap-rochement with Germany. I mean by rapprochement, the conclud-ng of mutual assistance pacts with Germany. Rapprochement in my eyes is nothing else but the play which precedes an invasion.[15]

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rebel leaders that they had four columns of troops marching on government-held Madrid, and a fifth column inside the city, ready to sabotage, spy, and hamper defense operations.

[15] *The invasion of Denmark by Germany in April had been preceded (on May 31, 1939) by the signing of a "Non-Aggression Treaty" which promised that the Reich "will under no circumstances resort to war or any other form of violence" against Denmark.*

MR. GOTTSCHALK: I can see that the Communists and the Nazis and the Fascists—German and Italian respectively—might at the present moment cooperate very well to make trouble in the Allied countries. But isn't it true that neutrality sometimes is the objective of these activities of a Trojan Horse nature?

MR. PFLAUM: It is true right now in the section of Europe that Doman comes from, Central Europe, where the German Trojan Horse has not been led in for the purpose of opening the gates to the German army but for the purpose of maintaining neutrality in that part of Europe and keeping out the enemy. However, as their secondary purpose they want to smooth the road for their own armies if they ever have to go in.

MR. DOMAN: I am glad you brought out this point because it is generally assumed today in this country that Germany wants to invade Rumania. Germany, in my eyes, will not invade Rumania until the Trojan Horse elements have taken over the powers. It is generally known today that even a small child can destroy oil wells, and the reason for the Germans going into Rumania is to get hold of the oil wells. The Germans first of all have to control the oil wells so that the British and French agents could not destroy them.[16]

MR. PFLAUM: You mean to say that the English and French have Trojan Horses in Rumania?

MR. DOMAN: Of course, there are agents for every belligerent government.

MR. PFLAUM: Their purpose is to take over the situation in case of an emergency, isn't it?

MR. DOMAN: They would not take over the situation. The purpose is to destroy the oil wells if the Germans should try to take Rumania.

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[16] *A large section of the petroleum industry, vital to Germany's war machine, is owned and operated by French and British companies.*

MR. GOTTSCHALK: The situation in Sweden has changed somewhat because at one time I think the purpose of Trojan Horse activities in Sweden was to get control of the Swedish ore mines. Now, apparently, the Trojan Horse purpose in Sweden is to preserve Swedish neutrality for strategic purposes.

MR. PFLAUM: That's right!

MR. DOMAN: It is impossible to foretell what the next move may be. Adolph Hitler's time table was set a long time ago, but like any time table it may be changed without further notice.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: I think that is true. What do you suppose is the purpose of Trojan Horse activities in this country? Isn't it also for the purpose of having us preserve neutrality?

MR. PFLAUM: Yes, and to have us declare an embargo against Japan which would serve the foreign policy of Russia.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: Perfectly! That would enable the Nazis to count upon Japan, too, in the event of our participation in the war.

MR. PFLAUM: That's right!

MR. GOTTSCHALK: And in the Lowlands and Belgium it seems to me that Nazi Trojan Horse activities are probably for the purpose of making trouble. That would seem to be the attitude the Dutch have taken with regard to their Nazis. They have suppressed some of the Nazi newspapers, I see, and yesterday they arrested twenty-one of the Nazi leaders.[17]

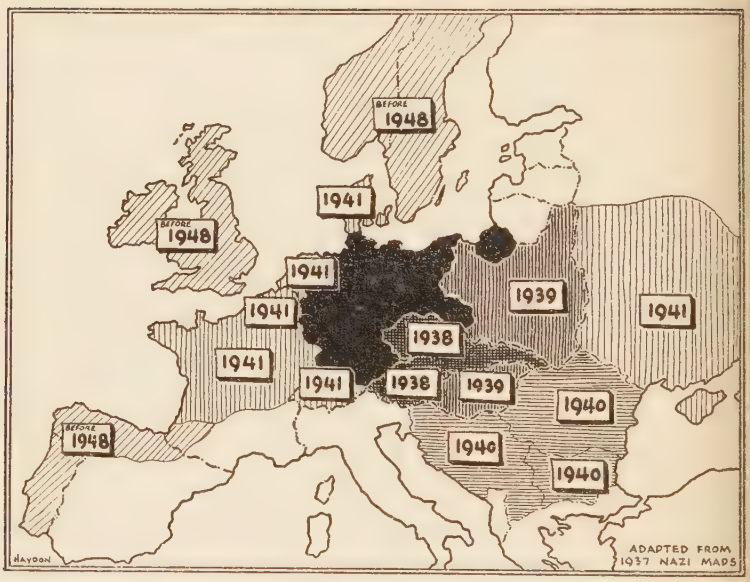
MR. DOMAN: I think that the treatment of the Nazis in the small neutral countries is too kind. You can't treat these elements kindly. King Carol tried to treat the Iron Guards kindly, but the Iron Guards won't treat him kindly.

MR. PFLAUM: He did not always treat them kindly. He shot

[17] *Including a Nazi member of the Dutch Parliament.*

THE NAZI TIME TABLE

"SUBJECT TO CHANGE WITHOUT NOTICE"



some in the main street of Bucharest; he put all their leaders in jail and shot a good many of them. Still that doesn't seem to have worked.

MR. DOMAN: I disagree with you. It worked very well. King Carol still remains in power. If he had not shot and killed these Iron Guards, maybe he would be on the dole. I think the German proposal to put Iron Guard members in the Rumanian cabinet will not be accepted by King Carol, because King Carol has learned the lesson of Austria and he does not want to face a firing squad.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: It is the old story of Ireland over again. England tried to suppress Ireland and found it did not work. Then they adopted the policy of killing home rule in Ireland by kindness.

MR. PFLAUM: And making all the Irish English politicians.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: That's an excellent example. What do think is the implication of Trojan Horse activity for the United tes? Are there any distinct Trojan Horse activities that you uld mention in the United States?

MR. PFLAUM: I think we have them all here. They don't for- us, but their activities are of a minor character at the moment. e don't have to worry about explosions and sabotage and armies tering the United States. Their principal activity is directed in actly the same fashion as it was in Norway.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: Do you have specific examples of the ay in which the Trojan Horse might work in this country? Do you ow anything about the *Bund*, for example?[18]

MR. DOMAN: Well, there are *Bunds*, of course, in every coun- y and I think that the German technique which worked in Norway ay be copied in the United States too. The fact that pro-Nazi sym- athizers are not very many today does not mean that their method ill not be successful.

MR. PFLAUM: A good many people are interested in what ey can do about it. How are they going to handle it?

MR. GOTTSCHALK: It seems to me, of course, that we are ing to have a good deal of difficulty in handling that situation in is country. It is the dilemma of liberalism again—the dilemma, other words, of how to defend democracy and at the same time ake it possible to preserve civil liberties.

MR. DOMAN: You have sometimes to make a sacrifice for emocracy, and if you are not willing to make the sacrifice for de- ocracy, democracy fails.

MR. PFLAUM: We should be willing to destroy part of de-

[18] *The German-American Bund.*

mocracy in order to save the balance. A friend of mine suggests that we should bore from within the borers from within by curing the evils which cause so many people to subscribe to these beliefs.

MR. DOMAN: I think, in my eyes, there is no immediate danger from Trojan Horse activities in the United States, but if the United States gets into war I would be surprised if there would not be Trojan Horse activities.

MR. GOTTSCHALK: Of course, if we are right in saying that the Trojan Horse activities precede war activities, actual belligerency, then the Trojan Horse activities may be going on right now either to keep us neutral, which we have noted as a motive, or to be prepared to use subversive activity in event of war.

MR. PFLAUM: As they are down in South America, Central America, and Mexico.

MR. DOMAN: The Trojan Horse elements are making preparation for the propitious moment in South and Central America. I think that the Germans have some air and naval bases. The refueling problem of the *Graf Spee* I think proves my point.[19]

MR. GOTTSCHALK: Well now it seems to me that we have got a great deal of disagreement among us. We are not altogether agreed as to the importance of this movement in the United States. We are not altogether agreed as to the way in which it works out in European countries. We seem to have a very complicated picture, but the complications seem to be largely a result of deliberate intention on the part of the Nazis to make the situation complicated. In one respect it is rather simple. That is to say that the objective is

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[19] *The German pocket battleship was scuttled December 17, 1939, in the River Plate, just off Montevideo. She had been chased into harbor by three British cruisers—the "Ajax," the "Achilles," and the "Exeter." Rather than face an uneven battle the officers scuttled the ship in the harbor.*

y clear. It is to the advantage of the Germans and the other countries that use Trojan Horse activities.

I should like to point out that it is not necessary to look for a Nazi under every bed in this country.

HONORS

fall, for the third time in six months, upon the University of Chicago ROUND TABLE. The oldest educational program on the air, the ROUND TABLE continues to rank high in the estimation of radio listeners and educators throughout the country.

Last week the ROUND TABLE received first place in the dialogue division of the educational recording competition at the Eleventh Annual Institute for Education by Radio at Columbus, Ohio. The winning program was the ROUND TABLE broadcast "Propaganda," presented November 26, 1939.

The ROUND TABLE received the first award in the educational broadcast division of the Cleveland *Plain Dealer* poll, conducted by radio editor Robert Stephan last November.

The recent *Movie and Radio Guide* poll of favorite radio programs in the educational category ranked the ROUND TABLE highest among public affairs broadcasts.

OBJECTIVE QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION

The answers to the following questions may be found in the text of the broadcast, and page references are provided to assist in locating the answers.

*

1. Name three of the five channels through which Trojan Horse activities may be carried on. Page 2.
2. What is the *Auslandsbureau?* Page 4.
3. The visit of what German military leader to what Norwegian port is cited as an example of a "tourist" acting for a foreign government? Page 6.
4. What Foreign Minister of what Scandinavian nation was allegedly ousted because of German pressure against his outspoken anti-Nazi policies? Page 7.
5. Whose name is being used as a symbol of Trojan Horse activity because of his aid to the Germans in Norway? Pages 7–9.
6. Nazis formed what percentage of the population in Norway? Page 9.
7. Who were the *Cagoulards?* Page 10.
8. What particular group of peasants in Central Europe are considered the most likely converts to Naziism? Page 11.
9. What three secret service agencies are claimed to be the most efficient in Europe? Page 16.
10. How were Trojan Horse activities manifest during the recent Spanish "civil" war? Page 16.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The following questions of wider scope, intended for discussion, are suggested by the broadcast, and answers may be found in the literature on the subject listed in the section "Suggested Readings," found on page 26.

*

1. Give examples of what you would regard as Trojan Horse activities under these following categories:
   a) Political parties
   b) Newspapers and news services
   c) Resident aliens
   d) Cultural and sport groups
   e) Consular and diplomatic
   f) Army and navy
   g) Labor
   h) Economic

2. Where (and why) do you think the Trojan Horse will next appear to aid conquest? Consider Sweden, Jugoslavia, Hungary, Rumania, Belgium, the Netherlands, and other neutral countries as possible areas for the next open appearance of the Trojan Horse.

3. Discuss the thesis: "The Trojan Horse feeds upon the oats of poverty." Does this mean a nation can defeat any "boring from within" tactics of its enemies by providing a higher standard of living for its own people? If so, why did Norway and Denmark, with relatively high standards of living, fall victims to the Nazi Trojan Horse.

4. Analyze the statement that King Carol of Rumania "might have been on the dole" had he not, last fall, executed dozens of Iron Guard members (Rumanian Nazi sympathizers). Do you agree? Does this statement indicate to you that Trojan Horse activities must be fought with violence? Compare this method with that suggested in question 4.

5. What lessons can Americans draw from Trojan Horse work in Europe? How can such activities be eliminated in this country? How far can we go in suppressing alien penetration before we endanger the fundamental civil rights of our citizens? Discuss.

SUGGESTED READINGS

"The Attack on Democracy," *Propaganda Analysis*, January 1, 1939. *A documented study of alien movements in the United States.*

FELDMAN, MAURICE, "Sweden's Trojan Horse," *Nation*, April 27, 1940. *A brief listing of the groups and individuals in Sweden who might turn that country into another Norway.*

OLBERG, PAUL, "Scandinavia and the Nazis," *Contemporary Review*, July, 1939. *A documented study of Nazi propaganda techniques in Norway, Sweden, and Denmark.*

JOESTEN, JOACHIM, *Rats in the Larder*. New York: Putnam's Sons, 1939. *An authoritative discussion of German penetration of Danish economic and political life.*

———, "The Nazis in Scandinavia," *Foreign Affairs*, July, 1937. *Written several years ago, this article is now particularly timely with its emphasis on the "Nordic dream-world" which Naziism seeks to impose on Scandinavia, and its attention to the methods which are used to that end.*

FARAGO, LADISLAS, "No Nazi Revolt in the Desert," *Asia*, April, 1940. *A description of German efforts to prepare a Near Eastern and Islamic "revolt against Western Imperialism."*

KIRCHWEY, FREDA, "The Fifth Column," *Nation*, April 27, 1940. *A general picture of the "Trojan Horse" technique and its present use in Europe.*

FULANO, FERNANDO, "The Fifth Column," *Living Age*, November, 1937. *The story of General Franco's supporters inside Loyalist Spain's government, army, and citizenry, and how this "fifth column" acted to hamper, delay, and negate government action.*

VOSKA, EMANUEL, "Spy and Counter Spy," *Saturday Evening Post*, May 4, 1940.

TIMES HAVE CHANGED

(with daylight saving)

*

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE
IS BROADCAST NOW AT

2:30 P.M. Eastern Daylight Time
1:30 P.M. Eastern Standard Time
1:30 P.M. Central Daylight Time
12:30 P.M. Central Standard Time
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Nos.

1939

42. *The Economic Struggle for South America*
43. *America Arms—for What?*
44. *Is Security Increasing?*
45. *How Shall We Solve the Housing Problem?*
46. *Price Fixing*
47. *President vs. Congress*
48. *What Would Lincoln Think?*
50. *America's Neutrality Act*
51. *The Outlook for Europe*, Beneš, Wright, Schmitt
54. *The National Income*
55. *The Birth Rate and Business*
56. *Hitler's Economic Motives*
57. *"Room to Live!" Population Pressure and Aggression*
58. *America and the Next War*
59. *Have We Helped the Farmer?*
60. *Refugees*
61. *If Europe Paid Its Debts*
62. *Crisis in Coal*
63. *What Do You Mean—Americanism?*
64. *Russia and Europe*
65. *Freedom and the Economic System*
66. *The Place of Radio in a Democracy*
67. *Questions on Democracy*
68. *Our Liberties Today*
69. *Crisis in the Orient*
70. *Relief and the WPA*
71. *Out of School—Out of Jobs*
72. *The Line-up for 1940*
73. *Will England Save Hitler?*
74. *Is the Consumer Getting His Nickel's Worth?*
75. *Did Congress Revolt?*
76. *Europe on the Verge.* August 27
77. *War Comes.* September 3

Nos.

78. *Will There Be a Blackout of Peace in America?* September 10
79. *The High Cost of Living*
80. *What Will Congress Do?*
81. *How Will We Get Recovery?*
82. *Prosperity vs. Boom*
83. *International Law—What Is It?*
84. *The Economic War*
85. *What's the War All About?*
86. *Testing Public Opinion*
87. *After the Next Armistice—What?*
88. *Taxes*
89. *Propaganda*
90. *Russia Marches*
91. *Can Capitalism Survive the War?*
92. *Government and Business*
93. *When Tomorrow Comes*
94. *1939: Crisis Year*

1940

95. *Wages and Hours in the North and South*
96. *Is Our War News Accurate?*
97. *The Far East—Backdoor War?*
98. *The Jews*
99. *Economic War Between the States*
100. *Is Russia Losing in Finland?*
101. *Are Tariff Walls Blockading America?*
102. *War Myths*
103. *Economic Issue and 1940*
104. *Is America's Economic Frontier Closed?*
105. *Must the World Unite?*
106. *Can We Protect America?*
107. *The Census*
108. *The Archbishops Look at America*
109. *Scandinavia on the Spot*
110. *Third Term?*
111. *Where's that War Boom?* April 28

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE HAS WHAT IS PROBABLY THE LARGEST NETWORK OF ANY EDUCATIONAL BROADCAST. THE FOLLOWING STATIONS OF THE NATIONAL BROADCASTING COMPANY CARRY THE PROGRAM EACH SUNDAY:

2:30 P.M. EASTERN DAYLIGHT SAVING TIME

City	*Call Letters*	*Kilocycles*	*City*	*Call Letters*	*Kilocycles*
Boston, Mass.	WNAC	1230	Providence, R.I.	WJAR	890
Buffalo, N.Y.	WBEN	900	Schenectady, N.Y.	WGY	790
New York, N.Y.	WEAF	660	Wilmington, Del.	WDEL	1120
Philadelphia, Pa.	KYW	1020	Worcester, Mass.	WTAG	580
Portland, Me.	WCSH	940			

1:30 P.M. EASTERN STANDARD TIME

Allentown, Pa.	WSAN	1440	Jacksonville, Fla.	WJAX	900
Asheville, N.C.	WISE	570	Johnstown, Pa.	WJAC	1370
Baltimore, Md.	WFBR	1270	Lakeland, Fla.	WLAK	1310
Charleston, S.C.	WCSC	1360	Miami, Fla.	WIOD	610
Charlotte, N.C.	WSOC	1210	Raleigh, N.C.	WPTF	680
Cleveland, Ohio	WTAM	1070	Richmond, Va.	WMBG	1350
Columbia, S.C.	WIS	560	Rochester, N.Y.	WHAM	1150
Columbus, Ohio	WCOL	1210	St. Petersburg, Fla.	WSUN	620
Detroit, Mich.	WWJ	920	Tampa, Fla.	WFLA	620
Grand Rapids, Mich.	WOOD	1270	Washington, D.C.	WRC	950
Greenville, S.C.	WFBC	1300	Zanesville, Ohio	WHIZ	1210

1:30 P.M. CENTRAL DAYLIGHT SAVING TIME

Chicago, Ill.	WMAQ	670			

12:30 P.M. CENTRAL STANDARD TIME

Amarillo, Tex.	KGNC	1410	Milwaukee, Wis.	WTMJ	620
Birmingham, Ala.	WBRC	930	Minneapolis and		
Bismarck, N.D.	KFYR	550	St. Paul, Minn.	KSTP	1460
Duluth, Minn., and			Nashville, Tenn.	WSM	650
Superior, Wis.	WEBC	1290	New Orleans, La.	WSMB	1320
El Paso, Tex.	KTSM	1310	Oklahoma City, Okla.	WKY	900
Evansville, Ind.	WGBF	630	Omaha, Neb.	WOW	590
Fargo, N.D.	WDAY	940	Pittsburg, Kans.	KOAM	790
Jackson, Miss.	WJDX	1270	St. Cloud, Minn.	KFAM	1420
Kansas City, Mo.	WDAF	610	St. Louis, Mo.	KSD	550
Little Rock, Ark.	KARK	890	San Antonio, Tex.	WOAI	1190
Louisville, Ky.	WAVE	940	Shreveport, La.	KTBS	1450
Madison, Wis.	WIBA	1280	Terre Haute, Ind.	WBOW	1310
Mankato, Minn.	KYSM	1500	Wichita, Kans.	KANS	1210

11:30 A.M. MOUNTAIN STANDARD TIME

Albuquerque, N.M.	KOB	1180	Phoenix, Ariz.	KTAR	620
Billings, Mont.	KGHL	780	Pocatello, Ida.	KSEI	900
Boise, Ida.	KIDO	1350	Pueblo, Colo.	KGHF	1320
Butte, Mont.	KGIR	1340	Salt Lake City, Utah	KDYL	1290
Denver, Colo.	KOA	830	Tucson, Ariz.	KVOA	1260
Helena, Montana	KPFA	1210	Twin Falls, Ida.	KTFI	1240

10:30 A.M. PACIFIC STANDARD TIME

Bakersfield, Cal.	KERN	1370	San Diego, Cal.	KFSD	600
Fresno, Cal.	KMJ	580	San Francisco, Cal.	KPO	680
Los Angeles, Cal.	KFI	640	Seattle, Wash.	KOMO	920
Portland, Ore.	KGW	620	Spokane, Wash.	KHQ	590
Sacramento, Cal.	KFBK	1490	Stockton, Cal.	KWG	1200

STATIONS CARRYING ROUND TABLE BY TRANSCRIPTION

Honolulu, T.H.	KGU	750k	9:00 P.M.
Cincinnati, Ohio	WSAI	1330	8:30 P.M. EDST

BABIES COST MONEY

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A UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE BROADCAST

MAY 12, 1940

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DR. FRED L. ADAIR, Mary C. Ryerson Professor and Chairman of the Department of Obstetrics and Gynecology, Chief of Service, Chicago Lying-in Hospital, University of Chicago

DR. MARTHA ELIOT, Assistant Chairman, Children's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor

LOUIS WIRTH, Associate Professor of Sociology, University of Chicago

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SUGGESTED READINGS

AMIDON, BEULAH, "Women and Children Last," *Survey,* February, 1938.

DUBLIN, L. I., "The Problem of Maternity," *American Journal of Public Health,* August, 1939.

FURNAS, J. C., "That Mothers May Live," *Ladies' Home Journal,* November, 1940.

[PRINTED IN U.S.A.]